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A
LETTER

NOT IN ANSWER TO, BUT INDUCED BY

A LATE

Publication of THOMAS HOLCROFT,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

Political Intemperance ;

ENDEAVOURING TO

ILLUSTRATE ITS DANGEROUS EFFECTS,

ON THE

Commercial Part of the Kingdom ;

AND THE

THE MATERIAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
THEORY AND PRACTICE.

ADDRESSED

To every WORKMAN in ENGLAND,

AND

EVERY MAN WHO KEEPS ONE.

BY A

FRIEND OF A MANUFACTURER.

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NOTED TO
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VIA 010814

A LETTER, &c.

SIR,

I HAVE this day read your letter to the Secretary at War, and (however you may suspect it) as a fellow-labourer in the same cause, think it incumbent on me to give you my sentiments with as little violence to your feelings, as I can with any attention to the indulgence of my own, and the avoidance of any aristocratic ceremony; which would not I think recommend me to your notice; thus endeavouring to shun the extravagance into which you have been betrayed. The ostensible subject of your letter, no man can more approve than I do; as I conceive intemperance to be one of the most dangerous and reprehensible infirmities which can

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belong

belong to any public or private character; from long experience of the enormities it has produced. There is not any possible pursuit to which it is not injurious, save that only, of self-destruction; which, unnatural as it seems, one would be often induced to think many were as eagerly engaged in, as two jockies for the goal.

To popular business it is particularly inimical, as it perpetually exposes it and its friends, to the charge and consequences of the indiscretion which its enemies seldom fail to take advantage of. The evidence I have so repeatedly had of this, has so much soured my temper with the method of managing popular concerns, that I have almost totally receded from any active part; although retaining the best wishes for the public cause. As my private admonition, therefore, which has never been spared, has had no effect, I have no other mode of rendering any service than by contributing my feeble, but sincere endeavours to counteract the influence of an example, which I know to be as contagious as fatal; and of a disorder which you so lamentably
 prove

prove is the more dreadful, and deserving commiseration and watchfulness, as the unfortunate patient is no more sensible of his situation, than the man who is in the moment of putting on the strait waistcoat.

This I hope will be the better received, at a time when of all others, good management and appearance (at least) of moderation, is more indispensable than it has ever been to the popular side. If the consequences of this intemperance were confined to the success of party, I will be so candid as to say, I might be inclined, perhaps, for the present moment at least, save you, or the public, the trouble of reading this short letter, which from the date of your publication, you will perceive to be the immediate dictates of my heart. I will acknowledge myself actuated, perhaps by a more sordid, though I believe not less natural motive; being the relation of a tradesman, who loses about five pounds a-week, generally, by the absence and idleness of his workmen—a sum far inferior to that which others from the same cause have to complain of. The commercial part therefore of my fellow ci-

tizens will not think me slightly concerned; or that I should lament to see when the calamities of war withhold the means of employment from so many manufacturers, the families of those who can obtain it, are deprived of their support by the intoxicating effects of those inflammatory productions (of which your's, to say the truth, is the most innocently whimsical) and the unhappy rage after what they call *politics*, which they produce; and are the result of intemperate conduct and language in those who are a little removed above them. Do not suppose that I am so unjust as to consider you a principal, or your letter, an instrument of serious concern. I address myself to you as one of the unlucky, but well-minded people, who from natural organization, and texture of nerve, are more susceptible of contagion than those of more robust intellect and fibre, and are more deserving of pity, from having been too closely in contact with some of those infectious animals, who either are themselves in, or employed to put others in a delirium. The wretched, imitating the professors of that art they pilfer

pilfer from, and affect to ridicule, call your state, I do assure you, a CRISIS ; and are kept as the people leagued with, or hired by the magnetizing doctors, to work on the passions and sympathies of weak, credulous people, by affecting sensations, foreign, God knows, to their nature.

These sort of *Anthropophagi*, (or man-eaters, for I do not think they deserve a more tender name), are regularly drilled at their very private meetings, to which, of course, you never were admitted : they attend coffee-houses, tap-rooms, and other places of public resort ; and with a seeming ignorance of each other, are as alert in their parts as the most dextrous practitioners of the *drop* :--on their return at night from an excursion, with an account of their exploits, I have not been able to restrain laughter, they so much put me in mind of Bagshot and his gang ; with only this difference, that I could not help thinking the latter by far the most innoxious characters. They speak of you and those in the same state of mind, whom they term *done*, (which they might much better term *undone*) as of a bale of goods,

as a property—as black legs do of a *pigeon*, or an advertising quack of his patients, the number of which they think, and indeed with too much reason, adds to their reputation with the public. Those people are remarkable for an uncommon command of the muscles of their face by which they can laugh at one side and cry on the other; and if it were not one of the peculiar attendants on your disorder, to see objects as if placed topsy turvy, or in the vertical motion of a whirlingig, your intimacy with that celebrated philosopher Lavater could not permit them to remain undiscovered. Nay, I have heard it asserted, that several of them possess that surprising muscular power to which ventriloquism is ascribed, and are able to prevail on people to swear words have been uttered in places where they were not spoken---an art, which I conclude they must have stolen from government.

My object in this letter, therefore, is to endeavour at opening your eyes, and those labouring under the same misfortune, to a sense of your condition, and the stratagems which are daily practised against you by
two

two descriptions of men; one, who are contending for power and place, and *flatter* themselves they “ can ride on the whirlwind, and command the storm.”---the other, a sort of *free-corps*, or political-*hulans*,—who, acting on *nice* principles, *disdain* wages, and desire no other pay than the plunder they can make in a general wreck of order and of property: these I freely confess I have frequently been surprised to see retained, lest they might happen in the end to forget their employers. I wish to convince you all, if possible, in some lucid interval, that whatever tends to inflame, or to make use of your own word, *infuriate*, (as ludicrously misapplied where you have thought fit to introduce it, (page 34) as it is applicable here,) tends to the reproach of the public cause, the destruction of trade, to rob innocent families of support, by the idleness of those to whom they look up for it; whose means and resources are not such as your own, and may eventually bring them, by various means, to an untimely fate. On that score, my apprehension daily ~~enlarges~~ *enlarges*, from the perverted tendency

dency of that benign proof of the blessings we enjoy under our constitution, evinced so conspicuously in the late trials : although like the best of us, or of any thing else, may in due time be the better of a little vamping ; and I trust, if the work be good, (in the workman's phrase) will last longer than any *new* one. I see an instance of it in your letter, as I impute it in a great measure to that very cause ; and dread that the true principle not being kept in view, other deluded men being led by misconstruction and folly to acts which may exclude the lenity of the laws, or humanity of their countrymen.

Even your letter, innocent as it is in effect, as you are, I hope, in design of any public injury, may not be so in its operation on individuals, into whose hands it may fall, who are too illiterate and ignorant to think of the cause of its being unnoticed by those against whom it was levelled ; and under the inspiring influence of combining fumes may annex to the most risible parts of it, the most serious interpretation. ~~Even among~~ among the

the more illuminated artists of the *strop*, (who by the way are often better suited to the work of politics than those they perform upon,) there might not be wanting some gloomy disciple, who profoundly reasoning that so many terrific words would never be compounded without *deep thought*, may emphatically exclaim with his brother *Razor* in the farce, "There must surely be something always in the wind, when a great man seems full of thought." A-propos.—I cannot, however, in justice to the profession, repress the mention of one or two observations which I lately heard, (although they may be turned against me by some very wise politician) as they unite a combination of argument and truth which would do credit to the more elevated spheres.

I was speaking to him with that familiarity, to which long custom has given his vocation a claim, and his good manners particularly encouraged. On my insinuating that I took for granted his fraternity being friends to fashion, countenanced the fashionable doctrine of *equality*. His answer was, "If it is so, Sir, it must be that part
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who know and think very little; for if it was to take place, as far as our trade, at least, is concerned, men might have been nearly as well born without heads." I asked him how he proved that. " Why, Sir," said he, " you gentlemen, I know, often amuse yourselves with us mechanics ; but you cannot be surprized that any man who allows himself the least time to think, must know that if there never had been any distinctions in society, there never would have been a hair-dresser : every man's heart must tell him, that it was the vanity of a little distinction, when a man had made money by his industry, which makes it so general now, and shews that distinction is natural to mankind ; at least in a manufacturing country such as ours is. A man need only look to France for the effects of *equality* on our trade ; where it has sent some other old customs as well as hair-dressing, to shift for themselves." " That seems," said I, " a judgment on your brethren there, for I know they were very active in promoting it." " It is true, Sir," replied he, " but hair-dressers are like other men ; and if all men knew when they were well,

well, we should be all too happy." Coming in so natural a manner, it really struck me as a stronger illustration (if possible) of an immutable truth, than even the emphatical and well-recorded words of the poet,

O! felices ter et amplius.

This digression will carry with it the most eloquent apology to reasonable men.

It might have been fortunate for the feelings of your friends at least, that you had given vent to that matter which preys upon your nerve by sticking to the *acquitted felon*, as your feelings might be supposed to be much affected on that subject: they say it might have been an excuse for reiterating a ground that had been exhausted by the most eminent professors of attic fire; it would have been, and indeed was a good *standing dish* to cut and come again upon; being as insensible of your impression as the ribs of beef at the tinmen's doors would be of culinary flame. But to emit such a bituminous fargo, to prove your own serene incombustible temper, and the contrary in another, argues only (you will excuse me for saying it) pre-

tensions to an apartment even less favourable to personal liberty, than those which you have already considered as very irksome. As to any consideration for Mr. Windham, beyond what common justice demands, I believe you will not suspect it, either from what I have said, or may fall from me. I consider him, and all men in power when they can be *fairly* brought before the public tribunal, as *fair game*; but I will not go so far as to say downright, *Fera naturæ*, or destructive wild beasts, for every man to run down, or destroy, who is rich enough to have a rusty musquet. You will the less doubt what I say on that point, when I blame your profusion of compliments to him, and Mr. Burke, let them arise from whatsoever motives they may. When a man appears solicitous to prove too much, he always falls short of his mark, if he does nothing more hostile to his intention. It were supererogating too much of Christianity, and candour to suppose that the public could expect a man should dwell on the virtues of a person who was thought deserving of the accumulated guilt you lay at his door.—

Reason

Reason revolts against it; and instead of obtaining credit as a philanthropist, a man is either laughed at as a simpleton, or suspected as an *impure*. I who can have no cause to be the trumpeter of his panegyric, will readily allow him the amplitude of every good quality his admirers have given him, in public and private life; with his learning, research, encouragement of the arts, and so forth:—but I will not give him a sweeping absolution from all guilt, on the score of ignorance, from the incontestability of good intention; which his conduct, I have always heard, encourages us to believe. The greatest virtues may be carried to extremes; and so may tenderness to public criminals. If a man in public or private character gives a vital wound (of what you accuse Mr. Windham) to the liberties of mankind, and consequently of his country, ignorance should not surely in all cases be his safeguard: I think most frequently exemplary punishment should follow; rising perhaps above others in proportion to the enormity of the crime and magnitude of its consequences.—But MARK! of the guilt there
should

should be that proof which left nothing whereon the wavering shadow of doubt could glance: and if the emulating benevolence of our law would permit twenty to escape, whose good intentions were strongly suspected, it is surely reasonable, I believe nobody will dispute, that the man whose purity of intention has never been questioned, should be at least equally received within the *pale of mercy*.—How far your language goes to the attainment of such proof or mercy, I will leave to your *reflection* at some moment of composure. Indeed, to be ingenuous, I am not of opinion that the plea of ignorance is likely to be as popular or successful, as the *argumentum ad ignorantiam*.—The party whom you condescend to dignify by your countenance, will I am apprehensive (at least for the present) think it may serve to undermine that most salutary principle, that all men in power should be suspected, and responsible.—The right reverend bench may think it might be a bar to the good effects of precept and example, and furnish men with a pretext to hoodwink their consciences.—Gentlemen of the
law,

law, from the total inapplicability of it to their profession, will throw cold water on it, as well as from the chance it might have to produce the abrupt termination of important suits, to the great injury and vexation of their clients : And in truth, I do not see at this moment, any description who would seriously be inclined to take advantage of it, if it is not that inconsiderate set of young people whose hands are so apt to straggle through mere ignorance into other people's pockets.—In short, I am reluctantly compelled to acknowledge, that there seems to have been a manifest want of judgment throughout the production, which you have owned by your name ; even of that arrangement, and particular sort of effect which habits of life one would think might have suggested. It is really an ungracious, but necessary duty to mention some of the observations that have been made in the little circle where I have heard your letter spoken of ; and you will say, perhaps, serves to prove “ there is always some d——d good-natured friend ready to tell a man of ” his misfortunes. One says, that you have selected

lected very good words, and allegories, which if properly applied, might have paid the expence of compilation ; but, alas ! as they now are, lie, on the ground of *an acquitted felon*, or intemperance, “like lumps of marl on a barren moor, encumbering what they cannot fertilize.” Another, that you have made one outlandish olio of what with good management might have covered a handsome table ; and set down to John Bull, who loves good plain meat, a dish he may not be disposed to taste, from its fantastical cookery : And all agree in considering it a lamentable proof of that common infirmity, a man mistaking his talent, by quitting a walk in which you were very capable of being of some use to the public and yourself, to enter on another, where you must be (at least) useless to both.

Without deviating from my intention, give me leave to ask you a question—Of what consistency do you estimate the brains, or the temper of those to whom you have thought it necessary to propose the following interrogatory ? p. 32.

“ Can stabs with the bayonet, can limbs
blown

blown from the body by gunpowder, can brains scattered by cannon balls, can the agonies of ten thousand men, oppressing the bare earth with horror, staining the rivulets with blood, writhing, groaning, and dying; can the inclemencies of the sky, the damps of marshes, the agues, fevers, and consumptions of unsheltered ditches; can pestilence, fire, frost, and famine, increase the sum of human happiness?

“ Again: granting this multiform being, this creature called Nation, to be a reality; what is that other creature, called its Honour? How much of the honour of the first of June appertains to the sailor who lighted the match that sunk the French ship, *Le Vengeur*? Would it not be as rational to inquire, how much of the guilt? Poor wretch! He knew not what he was doing. By a turn of the wrist, he sent full twelve hundred souls, possessed by heroism unequalled since the days of Leonidas, shouting as they sunk in the same mistaken spirit, *for their nation's honour*, all to the bottom. Let them sink! Were they not French dogs? It was for the *honour of Old*

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England; and he could shout when they could be heard no more. The actors of Drury Lane, and the tumblers of Sadler's Wells, have acted these honours. They have opened schools to infuriate mankind, and propagate a brood of heroes; and the sinking of ships and the slaughter of their brothers were the topics of vapouring and insult, of ballad singing and Bartholomew fair ribbaldry, of crackers and illuminations, all for National Honour! Be it so; but let those who use and understand the terms know, that I am not one of any such nation; and, if these are its honours, that I hold its honours in abhorrence."

On this unparalleled burlesque, which withers the laurels of Chrononhotonthologos, I shall leave the comment to those who may read it. But I really cannot as well command my feelings as I should wish, considering to whom I address myself, (however I may my words) when I hear any man permitted to have the management of his own affairs, insult common sense, decency, and the common cause of British subjects, by advancing what must be to them,
 so

so monstrous a doctrine, that there is no such thing as national honour. Were a particle of the idea to be maintained on the most subtle or abstract principles of metaphysical argument, it was surely a most absurd and provoking attack on the well-known character of Britons :—Britons who have been ever as zealous of national honour, as the fondest lover of the reputation of his mistress ; and have been carried by their adoration to even romantic acts of heroism. To attempt to tarnish the glory of the British flag, which even the dæmon of party has never dared to squint at ; to darken the splendour of one of the brightest days which the history of our country records, and damp the honest ardour of our seamen by contemptuous epithets, and puritanical cant, is putting honest JOHN'S passion for his MISTRESS to such a trial, as might challenge the annals of political chivalry. I may also, with no less truth, take upon me to assert, that to prove your admiration of public or private virtue, by divorcing so cruelly your country, if she should by any chance be convicted of national

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tional honour, is a ground of repudiation which will puzzle the sagacity of Doctors' commons. Your attack on the theatres for indulging the nation with a pageant so gratifying, and congenial to their feelings at the moment, appears somewhat an extraordinary attack from one who has had *some* the modest humility to receive small advantages from them. As to the accusation of making them seminaries to infuriate the passions, and excite the propagation of heroes; I do not well comprehend the extent of your meaning; but I may venture to affirm, that if you speak in the pure sense of the word, the theatre could not be employed to a more dignified purpose: and if you are to be conceived in a more sportive vein than might be expected from a person of your chaste sentiments, I will only say, in extenuation of the crime, that there never was a moment when heroes were more wanted.

But there is another dangerous consequence attends your disorder; it familiarizes men with smiling at the most solemn truths, and adds to the proofs which I am
 sorry

sorry are too frequent, that nothing can stand
 the force of ridicule : This also perplexes
 several well meaning persons to determine
 whether or not authors are really serious
 or jocular ; and mean to deride or to imi-
 tate. I cannot therefore think it useless at
 this particular moment not so much on ac-
 count of your publication, as of others
 which may follow it, to warn men of this
 dreadful double-edged weapon. I own my
 weakness in common with others ; and do
 not pretend to say that you may by some
 more discerning than myself, be entitled to
 credit, as there are passages of the most
 comical ambiguity. If you intend yourself
 as a competitor with the dextrous com-
 mentators on the Bathos and mock heroic ;
 it would be illiberal to nip the bud of ex-
 panding genius :—and if ~~one~~ not, it
 would be unfair that you should have credit
 for what you do not deserve. Indeed, I
 have often thought it would be not a little
 conducive to the advantage of men who
 cannot, without much injury or inconveni-
 ence, spare time to seek for comparisons to
 form any judgment by, if there was a book
 of

of specimens from the works of eminent artists, as a touchstone to try others, although it might not be quite so much sought for as those to try bad shillings.

“ Wretched, ill-fated Poland ; miserable people ; victims of perfidy, from which the annals of vice have no parallel ! Shall your groans die away with the passing breeze ? Shall your tears wash the guilt of your oppressors to oblivion ? Shall your blood fertilize your usurpers field, yielding joy to the barbarian usurpers ? Never ! Hemlock and the deadly nightshade shall be their fruits ! In the intrails of such inhuman butchers, grain the most wholesome and pulse the most nutritive shall only corrode and kill ! Touched by them, milk and honey shall turn to gall, the blind worm and toad shall infest their paths, and vipers shall start wherever they tread ! Detestable monsters ! My soul shudders at your infernal deeds, and Reason herself half delights in hating you ! Yes, she will pardon this rhapsody ; for she feels that she has no words to express the heart-rending sensations you excite.”

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It could be scarcely thought, indeed it is not possible to mention, nay to hint at the fate of Poland, without the most penetrating sensations of electric sympathy: and yet (perhaps unconscious of your talent) you have been able to render it impossible for the most feeling heart to read your *Rhapsody* as you have most judiciously called it, without a smile of various hue.

The spirit and metaphors of this affecting passage are evidently taken from the bower scene of Dr. Young, (vide the *Revenge*) and if I may take the same liberty of borrowing, are so cruelly disfigured "as gipseys do gentlemen's children, that they may not be known by their parents," that the Doctor could probably never recognize them; and if he did, would exclaim, "that you had taken the best things out of his tragedy, and put them into your own comedy."

The prophetic part too of the imprecation, seems as yet very little to be depended on, and with a very little change, would have been much more applicable to the unhappy Poles; as the Russians rioted, and glutted themselves in their spoil, and I have
not

not heard any account even of a single head-ach. There is something certainly concealed under the coyness of NATURE only *half hating* the monsters ; although confessing at the same time that she has no words to express the heart-rending sensations they excite. It was certainly a very candid acknowledgment in you, who wanted so much to prove the contrary : but the word and sentiment would possibly have better suited some tender scenes of another kind, in which the good dame REASON is very lightly consulted.

I hope I am not disposed to rob any man of his merit ; and I will give you every credit you deserve for the Norwich manufacturer. Bringing forward one real name however insignificant the person, gives a shade always of credibility to whatever it may be found convenient to introduce. But on the other hand, I disapprove taking notice of the guillotine ; because ill-natured people (of which there are too many) will be apt to view it in a distorted light, and say “ the cap fits,” “ the cat’s out of the bag,” and a vast deal of such idle stuff. An electioneering

tionereering general, let me tell you, requires a vast deal of circumspection. "A rich man (page 47) riding on the bent and half-broken back of a poor man," is, I will admit, a very well imagined figure; but I think it would have a much stronger effect on a stage, than in print; and would be a fine contrast for the propagating of heroes. It is not impossible, that the managers might atone for one, by introduction of the other. I prefer it for my own part to a "rich man driving his coach over the industrious man on foot, (same page) although the latter is the most natural, and more frequently occurs. "Feasting on the groans, and tears, and sweat, and blood of the poor, as they are not so much acquainted with figurative language, might eventually be taken by them in a false light, and as if laughing at their complaints: it should have been therefore reconciled by some bloody feast; for instance, Bruce's in Abyssinia, or the Poissardes of Paris *eating* the governor of the Bastille, and their bread sopped on the bloody ground, when the carcase was consumed. Although, on consideration, the last

might be injudicious, as the people of this country are ridiculously *squeamish* on that point. That's true; there appears somewhat like a solecism in their quarrelling for the groans after dinner (ib.) In my apprehension, they ought to have quarrelled first, and then the victors sated themselves in blood. To be sure, you have classic authority for the other; the centaurs fought after dinner; you recollect the "*Rixa pugnata mero.*" So, with a little dash of champaign, you might very easily call it THE BATTLE OF ARISTOCRATIC CENTAURS: You know they are a tremendous looking animal, and likewise, having the upper part human, would serve admirably to illustrate your personification of monarchy and aristocracy, (page 24) which to unlettered men may appear somewhat obscure: no doubt the idea of eating the poor, would have done better at any other moment than the present, when the subscriptions for their relief have been so remarkable: but then you might very fairly get off that, by swearing it was to avoid being ate up themselves.

They

They cannot, you know, for their souls prove a negative.

Having declared, either from want of ability on my part, or argument on yours, or whatsoever cause you may please to conjecture, that this was not intended as an answer to, but induced by your letter, I shall very soon take my leave with due respect. In fact, to trespass longer on the patience of those who may condescend to cast an eye on this, by following you through the incoherent vagaries of prurient folly, would be as fruitless as foreign to my purpose.— If I have chosen some passages for observation, among those most prominently ludicrous, it was to avoid the risque of losing the temper I resolved to observe, and using any asperity which your vanity might interpret into personal consideration. Between ridicule and abuse, you leave me no alternative; and admonished me against the latter by the most gross antidote to its example. Should the fate to which your labours will probably be consigned, become a beacon for other unskilful adventurers on so dangerous a sea, it should afford you

no mean consolation. Should it operate to the close of your political lucubrations, it will be a subject of more congratulation to those you suppose your friends, than your enemies; by the former they must, I think, be considered as a misfortune.

If, therefore, you look forward to any advantage on a future day from their *gratitude*, I really fear the disappointment will be very mortifying. I do not indeed know any means through which you could turn your talents to advantage so well as that which was said to have been adopted by a gentleman of a neighbouring country, who applied to administration for a reward of his zealous services. The men in power, unconscious of the value of his exertions, assured him that his silence would confer the only one in their favour, which they sought. If that be the case, then, replied the honest Hibernian, most judiciously, my *best services* shall never be wanting, until I am properly rewarded. Depend on it, that to suppose yourself equal to the task of tarnishing the merit of a whole life will not
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in the eyes of those you may wish to court, appear less offensive, than ridiculous.

To be the executioner of public reputation, is not either so acceptable a character in the eyes of an Englishman, as you and others may think, until the criminal be fairly proved guilty. By your attacks, therefore, on the reputation of public men, they will in all likelihood be as severely injured as the cause of religion in this country, at a period of great bigotry, was by the brutal expedient of some distempered blockhead, who, to shew his contempt of it, performed a certain duty of nature which decency forbids mention of, on the communion table of (I think) Salisbury cathedral.

I will not permit myself to think you intended a more dangerous attack on it, by the affectation of pious conscientious principles, for political purposes; however unfortunate you may have been in putting professions and conduct so much at variance, by your language. My dislike to dip the pure mantle of religion in the turbid stream of political controversy, or writing, where it cannot be served by either, is such,
that

that I will repress any observations on that subject; farther than to say that the loud and overweening assumption of even consistent virtue, is always disgusting; and generally suspectable. The recollection of a person whose name you have (no doubt ingeniously) mentioned *, has given this notion sufficient guard against religious imposture, let others succeed as they may: I hope the tenor of your religious principles has sufficiently averted the possibility of imputation against you on that score. And yet, detestable as Cromwell's system was, it remained for late days to prove, by a neighbouring country, that virtue and morality were yet to find a more desolating foe. I would, therefore, not recommend it to you to risque even private character in so material a degree as to introduce them in such places as you have more than once thought fit to do. If it should be the result of a paralysed understanding, you are excluded from the little comfort or advantage that may be drawn, (as it has been truly said,) from

* Oliver Cromwell.

from the errors of great men ; whose very mistakes are lessons of instruction. If you doubt the advice I take upon myself to give you, consult your real friends ; advise with your bookseller ; and when you do it, shew that you have done *more* than translate LAVATER, by making yourself right sure that he is in earnest ; for, although I really doubt not of his honesty, you know all trades must live ; and I will pledge my reputation with you both, that he will not, without a smile, say that politics is the trade for you to follow. Take care of all things not to hit on a man celebrated for his wit, to take opinion from, in that point, as such, too often sacrifice their friend to the indulgence of a joke ; and particularly love sporting with men in your situation. A good lesson may be taken from the story of the celebrated wit Aristophanes, who wished to amuse himself at the expence of a sausage-maker in Athens, by persuading him he might become a great politician ; which the honest man could not by any means comprehend ; until the poet told him he had nothing to do but invent, compound,

pound, and confuse, which was *all in the way of his trade*; and that he could not fail of having custom.—His success I leave for your sagacity to divine.

I shall content myself with one parting bit of advice; which, from the attention sometimes given to such, I have reserved for the medium of what may be perhaps, a more impressive truth than any I have yet urged. *Remember* the words of the learned judge, BARON EYRE! He told you, I believe, that you had been then acquitted by a jury of your countrymen; but desired you to beware how you came again into the same predicament. In this emphatic and humane admonition, a great deal was said; and as I, with all humility conceive, still more implied, which seemed to render this “heart-rending” epithet *acquitted felon*, neither so extremely wanton, illiberal, or absurd, as some are pleased to term it. It rests on this very short point, which does not involve much legal or logical ambiguity. Could, or could not government have brought home that species of punishment the law has adjudged to persons

sons convicted of sedition, against those who were lately acquitted, although not *that* species of sedition which comes under the description of an overt act of high treason? yet, which *still went* to the establishment of Republicanism in this country.--And why was it not done? because government *could not* take the steps necessary to seize the papers of the different societies, except under a charge of HIGH TREASON. If, therefore, the term acquitted felon be in strict formality improper, it seems to me only so, inasmuch as *sedition*, and its consequence REBELLION, are to be considered *inferior* to felony. I know and believe it is universally known, that you and all who were acquitted, are *truly sensible* of your escape; and must confess I was thence a little surprized to find the loose application of the term, so grievously complained of, and wounding; but no doubt it has had its use. I heartily hope your *deliverance* may have its due weight: if unluckily it should not, I really much apprehend that future claims to lenity, will be materially abridged. An

English jury, as well as an English judge, may not want dignity or discernment to distinguish between the gratification of insolence ; and the vindication of rights :—between the martyr for his country ; and the slave to his passions :—between the incongruous eruptions of folly and spleen ; and the persevering fortitude of well-directed zeal. Those “ self-arrogated privileges,” which you consider as toys, may possibly turn out to be of a stronger fabric. An English parliament may not always deem insignificance a letter-patent for unqualified abuse. It may be thought that the stupidest link-boy in Covent-Garden might blow up a magazine) if he stumbled into the door when open) as well as the brilliant SMITH, who fired the arsenal of Toulon : it may be also thought, that the example of a fool may bring a man to the gallows, as effectually as the practice of a rogue ; and it has been long both known and thought, that “ individuals must suffer for the public good.”—The time, therefore, may (to some very unexpectedly) come, when in tenderness to a

GOOD

GOOD PEOPLE, a melancholy, but conspicuous proof must be given, that human frailty has imposed limits upon the angelic principle of our jurisprudence—**THAT INTENTION IS NECESSARY TO CONSTITUTE GUILT.**"

A FRIEND TO A MANUFACTURER.

Birmingham, }
Jan. 25th, 1795. }

ERRATA.

Page 7, line 14, *at least save you*, read *at least to save you*.

Last line, p. 12, *Even we among*, read *among*.

P. 24, l. 8, *to receive small advantage*, read *to receive some small advantage*.

P. 25, l. 19, *and if one do not*, read *and if no*.

P. 27, l. 10, *the spirit and metaphors*, read *some of the spirit and metaphors*.

